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Ray, John, F. R. S., *Observations made in a Journey in the Low Countries, Germany and France* (1673); *Travels in Divers Parts of Europe, &c., &c., with Observations on the Gold, Silver, Copper, Quicksilver and Other Mines [etc.]* (1687); *Vocabulary of Sea Phrases, &c.* (1799). It is reasonable to assume that if Wordsworth knew Shelvocke and Hearne before 1800, he knew at least a few of these works too. It is clear also that not all of his collection of travels and voyages can be found in the catalogue of sale for 1859.<sup>30</sup> For example, Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile* (1790) is wanting there; yet Wordsworth certainly owned a copy of this book, since in the memoranda that he was careful to keep at Rydal of all volumes borrowed from his shelves, there is an entry recording the loan of Bruce.<sup>31</sup> Further, no one can say to what limit the poet's own borrowing may not have gone before he had the money to buy books with any degree of freedom. Unfortunately I have been unable to consult all of the works that I am aware he knew even prior to 1799.

(To be continued.)

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*Laurence Sterne in Germany.* A Contribution to the Study of the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Eighteenth Century, by WILLIAM WATERMAN THAYER. (Columbia University Germanic Studies, Vol. II, No. 1.) New York, 1905.

The author of this monograph has selected a subject, the importance of which has been recognized for a long time, but which, for a number of reasons, has failed to find exhaustive treatment. In the first place the nature of Sterne's influence upon German literature is so elusive that the investigator is at a loss to know how to define its limits. Furthermore, the sources for the investi-

gation are, certainly for an American student, extremely difficult to reach. Finally, Sterne's influence in Germany went beyond the limits of literature. The whole manner of life of the period of Sterne's popularity seems to have been affected by the characteristics of the English author.

The greatest recommendation that Thayer's book has, consists in the fact that its author has based his study largely upon German periodical literature. Histories of literature could have revealed but little. The examination of the writings of certain authors whose names are usually connected with Sterne's vogue, would have furnished no guarantee that the subject had been studied in all its phases. A search through the files of the contemporary journals has, however, suggested a method of work which has made it possible for the author to give a fairly connected review of Sterne's influence upon German literature. Unfortunately, in this monograph the discussion is limited to the eighteenth century.

Thayer's book is by no means unpretentious. It goes beyond the scope of a dissertation—not farther, however, than the subject warrants. In fact there are few themes which offer greater attractions to the worker in the field of literature than does this. It, however, demands and merits a more genial treatment than is frequently accorded to similar subjects. After all "Sterne's influence" seems to be something very incongruous.

Yorick stands forth as one of the most notable examples of an *enfant gâté* in the history of literature. His personal and literary success during his lifetime must be considered as a whim of the time. His popularity was a part of the widespread protest against formalism which the eighteenth century recorded. He exceeded his predecessors in his disregard of literary conventions, hence he was elevated to a lofty pinnacle of fame—so high that the lightheaded parson became giddy. Still he was never taken altogether seriously by his fellow countrymen. They read his works, praised and flattered their author, feted and lionized him, but it may be questioned whether in England, he was regarded as anything more than a clever individual whose charm consisted largely in his formlessness and his effrontery.

But across the Channel in continental Europe he was looked at in a different light. The spoilt

<sup>30</sup> This *Catalogue* of Wordsworth's library has been reprinted in the *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, No. 6, pp. 197-257.

<sup>31</sup> The ms. is now in the possession of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of Philadelphia.

child in England was furnished with the power of a literary authority in Germany and in France. His meaningless disquisitions were studied intently in the hope that new canons of art might be deduced from them. His incoherent mutterings were eagerly caught up and regarded as seriously as though they were inspired by deep philosophical meditation. The naughty, the irregular, the flip-pant and trifling Yorick masquerades as a literary sage—the picture is one that could have been made possible only by the irony of an illogical fate.

Nevertheless, although Sterne may not have merited his authority, he had it, and the study of its nature and extent deserves investigation in the most careful manner. However, the investigator ought not to make the panoply of philological method too formidable.

The important questions in the study of Sterne's popularity in Germany are not, whether there is a connection between Corporal Trim and Just in *Minna von Barnhelm*, or between two characters in Lessing's *Die Witzlinge* and Trim and Eugenius, or between Martin in *Götz* and some one of Sterne's characters. It is hard to resist the temptation to look for just such "influences." Thayer has been quite self-contained in this respect and has preferred to give his attention to the larger although far more intangible questions.

The author has brought out clearly that Sterne's fame in Germany was due almost solely to the *Sentimental Journey*. This fact has been frequently stated, but Thayer's intelligent discussion of the several editions shows definitely that but for the "sentimentalism" of Sterne, he would have had a very brief and unimportant career in Germany. The interest in *Tristram Shandy* and Yorick's sermons and letters was only aroused after the author of the *Sentimental Journey* had become a celebrity. A few men of note had enjoyed *Tristram* before the later book was published—Herder, Hamann and Wieland—but the number of its admirers was very small.

The first six parts of *Tristram Shandy* appeared in a German version by Zückert in 1763. Zückert was a physician and was especially attracted by the mock-scientific manner of Walter Shandy. No mention of the author's name was made until the appearance of the seventh and eight parts in 1765. In 1767 part nine was added—this was

nothing more than the translation of a spurious original. There were in all, three editions of the Zückert translations which differ, however, very slightly from each other.

It is suggestive that Sterne's sermons were published in German in Switzerland as early as 1766. As was the case with many of the earlier versions of English books, the translator quite missed the spirit of the original and failed to grasp its real significance. The devotion to things English led the translators into strange errors. Even the authors of the *Discourse der Mahler* committed some inexplicable mistakes, but the gravity with which this volume of Yorick's sermons was regarded is more than remarkable.

Bode's translation of *Tristram* did not appear until 1774, six years after his version of the *Sentimental Journey* had been given to the public. Johann Joachim Christoph Bode is the man most intimately associated with Sterne's fame in Germany. He had so fully worked himself into the spirit of Yorick's writings that everything he attempted in a literary way has the stamp of his favorite author.

Jördens says (Lexicon 1, page 117): "Die Übersetzung dieses Fieldingschen, in seiner Art einzigen und unerreichbaren, Charaktergemäldes wirklicher Menschen (Tom Jones) verfertigte Bode in groszer Eile und unter ungünstigen Umständen. Sie ist ihm daher auch weniger gelungen. Besonders ist ihr der Vorwurf gemacht worden, dass Bode seinem Autor einen ihm ganz fremden Anstrich von Sternischer Laune gegeben habe. Doch bleibt sie bei allen ihren Mängeln noch immer ein sehr schätzbares Denkmal seines Geistes."

Bode's conception of Sterne was not the English Sterne. He constructed an ideal of the whimsical Englishman which was founded altogether upon the *Sentimental Journey*. It is therefore not surprising that in attempting to render *Tristram* into German, he should weave into it some of the ideas which were obtained from the book by which Sterne was especially known in Germany.

Bode's translation of the *Sentimental Journey* appeared in September or October, 1768. Previous to this, he had published several excerpts. Lessing's share in this work of Bode has been a subject about which there has been a good deal

of uncertainty and Thayer has accomplished an important task in defining Lessing's part in the undertaking. A good deal of the obscurity about Bode's relation to Lessing was caused by the translator himself who allowed a greater dependence upon his distinguished friend to be presumed than the facts warrant. Bode's preface states that Lessing had taken the trouble to go through the whole translation. It is of little consequence whether Lessing suggested the idea of translating the book to Bode or not, as there can be no doubt of Lessing's genuine enthusiasm for the English writer.

The second edition of the *Sentimental Journey* was published in May, 1769. It was identical with the first except that it contained certain additions to the first version. Thayer considers it of importance that Ebert's name is mentioned along with Lessing's. Bode acknowledges that the excellence of his work is due to Ebert and Lessing and this statement makes it probable that Ebert's influence has been much greater than is usually stated. Lessing's name has predominated in all discussions of the book because of his fortunate suggestion of the word *empfindsam* as a translation for *sentimental*. As we look back upon the period, it seems the absence of a word so frequently employed as *empfindsam* would have left a gap. Such a rendering as *sittlich* which was proposed by Bode could never have adequately taken the place of Lessing's invention.

Another translation of the *Sentimental Journey* which appeared almost simultaneously with Bode's was Pastor Mittelstedt's with the title *Versuch über die menschliche Natur in Herren Yoricks, Verfasser des Tristram Shandy, Reisen durch Frankreich und Italien. Aus dem Englischen*. This author had proposed *Gefühlvolle Reisen, Reisen fürs Herz, Philosophische Reisen*, but rejected them all in favor of the title as given above. Mittelstedt's version was originally offered to the public anonymously. The respective merits of the two German renderings is shown very clearly by the fact that Bode owes his reputation almost exclusively to this book, while Pastor Mittelstedt is relatively unknown.

A very interesting chapter is Thayer's treatment of the career in Germany of the spurious volumes of the *Sentimental Journey* which had been pub-

lished in England in 1769. Bode translated these and gave them to the public with no explanation whatever which led to almost endless confusion, especially as the translation was more of an adaptation than a copy of the original. It was filled with allusions to German conditions. Thayer says (p. 51): "In all, Bode's direct additions amount in this first volume to about thirty-three pages out of one hundred and forty-two. The divergencies from the original are in the second volume (the fourth as numbered from Sterne's genuine *Journey*) more marked and extensive: about fifty pages are entirely Bode's own, and the individual alterations in word, phrase, allusion and sentiment are more numerous and unwarranted." Bode's changes are intended to portray the Yorick as he was known in Germany, not in England. In some cases, Eugenius' original has been modified in order to avoid its grossness, while elsewhere the change is made in order to give an additional bit of delectable sentimentality.

In dealing with Bode's rendering of *Shandy*, Thayer says (p. 59): "Bode's work was unfortunately not free from errors in spite of its general excellence, yet it brought the book within reach of those who were unable to read it in English, and preserved, in general with fidelity, the spirit of the original. The reviews were prodigal of praise." Some years later, however, a very bitter attack was made upon this work by J. L. Benzler, the librarian of Graf Stolberg at Wernigerode. Benzler claims that Bode never made a translation that was not full of mistakes, but the improvements in his own version are hardly commensurate with his large pretensions. He, however, did some good in that he had the courage to call attention to some of the deficiencies of the popular idol Bode. In a very brief note on page 61 Thayer says: "The following may serve as examples of Bode's errors," and then enumerates only three samples of poor translations. One might reasonably expect from such a complete study as the writer has undertaken, a more thorough examination of Bode's stylistic and linguistic shortcomings.

The treatment of Sterne's letters and sermons, while adequate, is of no great consequence. It is, however, interesting to note that in this age especially famous for its letter writing, a volume

could be published (1780) with the title *Briefe von Yorick und Elisen, wie sie zwischen ihnen konnten geschrieben werden*. The letters were, of course, spurious. In fact the great amount of ungenuine publications that have assembled around the name of Sterne shows how large a place in the public mind was filled by the English writer.

"The Koran, or the Life, Character and Sentiments of Tria Juncta in Uno, M. N. A., Master of No Arts," had an interesting career in Germany and is important because of the interest that Goethe showed in it and his belief in its authenticity. This book was published in the first collected edition of Sterne's works, Dublin, 1779, and was probably written by Richard Griffith. There is some doubt about the author of the German translation published, Hamburg, 1778, under the title *Der Koran, oder Leben und Meinungen des Tria Juncta in Uno, M. N. A. Ein hinterlassenes Werk von dem Verfasser des Tristram Shandy*. It was, however, probably Bode.

Thayer condemns Robert Springer's *Ist Goethe ein Plagiarius Lorenz Sterne's?* contained in *Essays zur Kritik und zur Goethe-Literatur*. Thayer thinks that Springer is interested in making a case for the *Koran* and finds his chief argument in the fact that both Goethe and Jean Paul accepted it.

Johann Gottfried Gellius had also published a version of it in 1771 under the title *Yorick's Nachgelassene Werke*. The reviews of these volumes are generally favorable and they were usually accepted as having been written by Sterne.

Thayer points out that Schink's *Empfindsame Reisen durch Italien, die Schweiz und Frankreich, ein Nachtrag zu den Yorickschen. Aus und nach dem Englischen*, Hamburg, 1794, had as its source "Sentimental Journey, Intended as a Sequel to Mr. Sterne's, through Italy, Switzerland and France, by Mr. Shandy," 1793. Schink says in his introduction with regard to the statement in the title "*Aus und nach dem Englischen*"—"aus, so lange wie Treue für den Leser Gewinn schien und nach, wenn Abweichung für die deutsche Darstellung notwendig war." Schink published in 1801 also *Launen, Phantasien und Schilderungen aus dem Tagebuche eines reisenden Engländer's*.

With regard to the Lorenzo order and the remarkable history of the *Lorenzodose* idea, Thayer has very little to add to what is contained in

Longo's monograph, *Laurence Sterne und Johann Georg Jacobi* and Ransohoff's dissertation.

Through this order Jacobi became a celebrity in a very short time. His idea had met with universal approval and everybody wanted to make the acquaintance of the amiable Jacobi. So many desired to obtain the snuff-boxes that they became the subject of speculation on the part of the shop-keepers. The material employed was usually metal, but there are frequent references to boxes which were made of horn. The name Jacobi was often engraved on the inside of the case. Although they were scattered all over middle and northern Germany as far as Sweden and Lapland, at the present time it seems impossible to find a single example of the famous Lorenzo snuff-box. The interest in the association was not confined to any one class—clergymen, literary men, students and business men, were eager applicants for membership.

The plan was viewed with so much pleasure that efforts were made to found other societies of a similar nature. One was the order of *Empfindsamkeit* undertaken by Leuchsenring, another had the curious title order of *Sanftmuth und Versöhnung*.

Pankraz, one of the characters in Timme's *Fragmente zur Geschichte der Zärtlichkeit*, attempts to found a new order of the garter. The garter was to have upon it Elisa's (one of the characters in the book) silhouette and the device *Orden vom Strumpfband der empfindsamen Liebe*.

Thayer's study of Wieland's relation to Sterne, which would naturally form a not unimportant part of such an investigation, has been based largely upon *Laurence Sterne und C. M. Wieland*, by K. A. Behmer. However, Thayer finds that the value of Behmer's work is lessened by his acceptance of the Eugenius volumes of the *Sentimental Journey* and the *Koran* as genuine.

Herder's importance in this connection centers largely in the fact that probably through him Goethe first made the acquaintance of Sterne.

Thayer has done little more in connection with Goethe's relation to Sterne than to discuss the well-known passages in his writings and in his conversations that deal with the English author. It would seem that the writer had the opportunity for a less cursory examination of this relationship,

although he says, page 107: "A thorough consideration of these problems, especially as concerns the cultural indebtedness of Goethe to the English master would be a task demanding a separate work."

In concluding his investigation of the borrowings of minor literary men from Sterne, Thayer says, page 151: "The pursuit of references to Yorick and direct appeals to his writings in the German literary world of the century succeeding the era of his great popularity would be a monstrous and fruitless task. Such references in books, letters and periodicals multiply beyond possibility of systematic study."

Apart from the general influence of Sterne, which arose from the direct effect of his books upon special writers, there are three ideas under which his contributions to German literature may be grouped. In the first place, he precipitated the sentimental malady. This may have been intensified by the apt coining of the word *empfindsam*.<sup>1</sup> Second, the hobby horse idea. As exemplified by Sterne, this suggestion had considerable sway. Third, the journey motif. A book which had such great popularity as the *Sentimental Journey* would inevitably cause a great number of imitations, but there is danger in emphasizing the journey idea too strongly. There had been *Reisen*<sup>2</sup> before the appearance of Yorick's wanderings and there would have been such undertakings if Sterne had never written the *Sentimental Journey*. The original feature was the sentimental quality which was given to books of travel, or to imaginary travels.

Thayer gives the following very apt quotation from Timme's *Der Empfindsame*, p. 169: "Kaum war der liebenswürdige Sterne auf sein Steckenpferd gestiegen, und hatte es uns vorgeritten; so versammelten sich wie gewöhnlich in Teutschland alle Jungen um ihn herum, hingen sich an ihn, oder schnitzten sich sein Steckenpferd in der Geschwindigkeit nach, oder brachen Stecken vom nächsten Zaun oder rissen aus einem Reissigbündel

den ersten besten Prügel, setzen sich darauf und ritten mit einer solchen Wut hinter ihm drein, dass sie einen Luftwirbel veranlassten, der alles, was ihm zu nahe kam, wie ein reissender Strom mit sich fortriss. Wär es nur unter den Jungen geblieben, so hätte es noch sein mögen; aber unglücklicherweise fanden auch Männer Geschmack an dem artigen Spielchen, sprangen vom ihrem Weg ab und ritten mit Stock und Degen und Amtsperrücken unter den Knaben einher. Freilich erreichte keiner seinen Meister, den sie sehr bald aus dem Gesicht verloren, und nun die possirlichsten Sprünge von der Welt machen und doch bildet sich jeder der Affen ein, er reite so schön wie der Yorick."

Thayer mentions other ideas which are derived from the author under consideration—stylistic peculiarities, extravagant methods of punctuation, the exaltation of the eccentric, the mock scientific style.

The author of the monograph has not exhausted the journalistic material that deals directly or indirectly with Sterne. This would be too much to expect, although the results of his investigation give a connected, if not thoroughly complete study of the subject he is treating. The periodical publications of this time are so multifarious—the letters from England which deal with literature, with art, the theatre, the proceedings of learned societies, etc., are so manifold that the author would have been too heavily taxed to attempt to make complete examinations of them.

Thayer has adopted a method which seems rather hazardous. He says, page 12: "The first mention of Sterne's name in Germany may well be the brief word in the *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent* for January 4, 1762"; again, page 15: "This Zückert translation is first reviewed by the above mentioned *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent* in the issue for January 4, 1764"; again, page 32: "The first notice of Sterne's death is probably that in the *Adress-Comptoir-Nachrichten* of Hamburg in the issue of April 6, 1768." Again, page 18: "A little more than a year after the review in the *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent*, which has been cited, the *Jenaische Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* in the number dated March 1, 1765, treats Sterne's masterpiece in its German

<sup>1</sup>Thayer has failed to note a publication which was intended to combat sentimentalism and some of its consequences—*Archiv der Schwärmerei und Aufklärung*, hrsg. v. Schulz, 1788, Altona (3 vols.).

<sup>2</sup>Ransohoff thinks Ronsard's *Voyage de Tours ou les Amoureux* is the first example in modern French literature.

disguise. This is the *first* mention of Sterne's book in the distinctly literary journals." A number of other similar references could be added, but these are sufficient to show the danger of such statements, although they are in some instances qualified.

The contemporary reviews of Sterne's several books quoted by Thayer, form a valuable feature of his study—such expressions as "The reviewer in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*," page 128, "The reviewer in the *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*," page 131, the "*Almanach der deutschen Musen*, 1771, calls the book," etc. They are found on nearly every page, and while these quotations may be at times pedantic and frequently distracting, they give an idea of the extent of the author's reading.

The writer's style is by no means above criticism. Dealing as he does with a subject whose ramifications run into many questions of wide interest, Thayer has allowed himself to write in a manner that may be described as being too large. The bigness of his method of expression has carried him into some stylistic vagaries which are remarkable. The following serve as illustrations (page 40): "The translator's preface occupies twenty pages and is an important document in the story of Sterne's popularity in Germany, since it represents the introductory *battle-cry* of the Sterne cult, and illustrates the attitude of cultured Germany toward the new *star*." And (page 51): "But there is lacking here the inevitable concomitant of Sterne's relation of a sentimental situation, the whimsicality of the narrator in his attitude at the time of the adventure, or reflective whimsicality in the narration. Sterne is always whimsically quizzical in his conduct toward a sentimental condition, or toward himself in the analysis of his conduct." (Page 42): "Its source is one of the facts involved in Sterne's German vogue which seem to have fastened themselves on the memory of literature." Also (page 112): "The intelligence is afforded that he himself is working on a journey."

On page 37 occurs the following passage: "Brockes had prepared the way for a sentimental view of nature, Klopstock's poetry had fostered the display of emotion, the analysis of human feeling. Gellert had spread his own sort of religious and ethical sentimentalism among

the multitudes of his devotees. Stirred by, and contemporaneous with Gallic feeling, Germany was turning with longing toward the natural man, that is, man unhampered by convention and free to follow the dictates of the primal emotions. The exercise of human sympathy was a goal of this movement. In this vague, uncertain awakening, this dangerous freeing of human feelings, Yorick's practical illustration of the sentimental life could not but prove an incentive, an organizer, a relief for pent-up emotion." In this connection it would seem that a more precise and extensive reference to Rousseau would be desirable.

No scientific work can take up into solution more than a certain number of quotations and references to other books without becoming saturated. The style becomes surcharged with undigested facts. Thayer's book suffers somewhat on this account—it does not read as well as might be expected from the exceedingly interesting data which he has gathered together.

The number of misprints is not large. Page 43 seems to have suffered the worst. Page 22, *hypochondria* for *hypochondria*; page 51, *divergences* for *divergencies*; page 169, *Stok* for *Stock* are also to be noted.

THOMAS STOCKHAM BAKER.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### A NOTE FROM DR. SOMMER.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Until I read Professor Nitze's letter in the January *Notes*, I was honestly under the impression that I was the first, although accidentally, to identify the manuscript and to notice the fact that the prose-Perceval is printed in the editions of 1516 and 1523. (When I stated that there are two editions at the British Museum, I did not imply by any means that these were the only copies.) Had I seen, or remembered to have seen, any of the references given by Professor Nitze, I should naturally not have written at all.

As extenuating circumstances I might plead: First, that I had discussed the contents of the article with several people in Paris and in London, two of whom, at least, had as little excuse as myself not to have seen those references, but neither said a word to the effect that he had; second, that as to periodicals and *Zeitschriften*, I